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Taiwan crisis kept hot by Dulles-Chiang pact; U.S. force angers Asia

By Kumar Goshal

AIRBORNE Secy. Dulles touched down briefly last week, fresh from Taiwan, and said he found Chiang Kai-Shek "resolute," and, like Washington's other Asian allies, united and "heartened by the manifest power of the U.S."

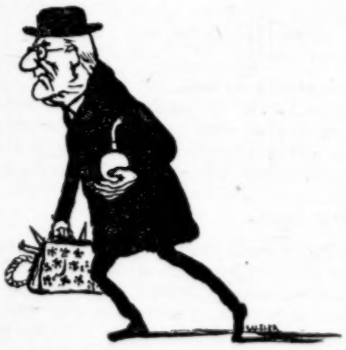
News reports from all over Asia belied his optimism and many Washington officials differed sharply with him.

After prolonged and sometimes acrimonious conferences, Dulles and Chiang on Oct. 23 issued a joint communique which said:

- The U.S. recognized Chiang as "the authentic spokesman for Free China and of the hopes and aspirations . . . of the Chinese people;"
- "Restoration of freedom" on the mainland was Chiang's "sacred mission," which he hoped to achieve without use of force;
- Peking has drawn Chiang and the U.S. "closer together;"
- Both recognized that "under present conditions the defense of the Quemoys [and] the Matsus is closely related to the defense of Taiwan and Penghu [the Pescadores]."

TWO VERSIONS: Washington gave the impression that Dulles had averted a catastrophic conflict in Taiwan Strait. It inferred that he had persuaded Chiang to renounce force, to accept the fact of a China divided as Germany, Korea and Vietnam were divided, and to agree to reduce his forces on the offshore islands if there were a prolonged cease-fire.

But no sooner was the communique issued than it was contradicted by Chiang's officials. His Ambassador to the U.S. George Yeh said Chiang had not altogether discounted the use of force to recover the mainland. Chiang's Foreign Minister Huang Shao-ku said he interpreted the communique to mean that it did not preclude forcible inter-



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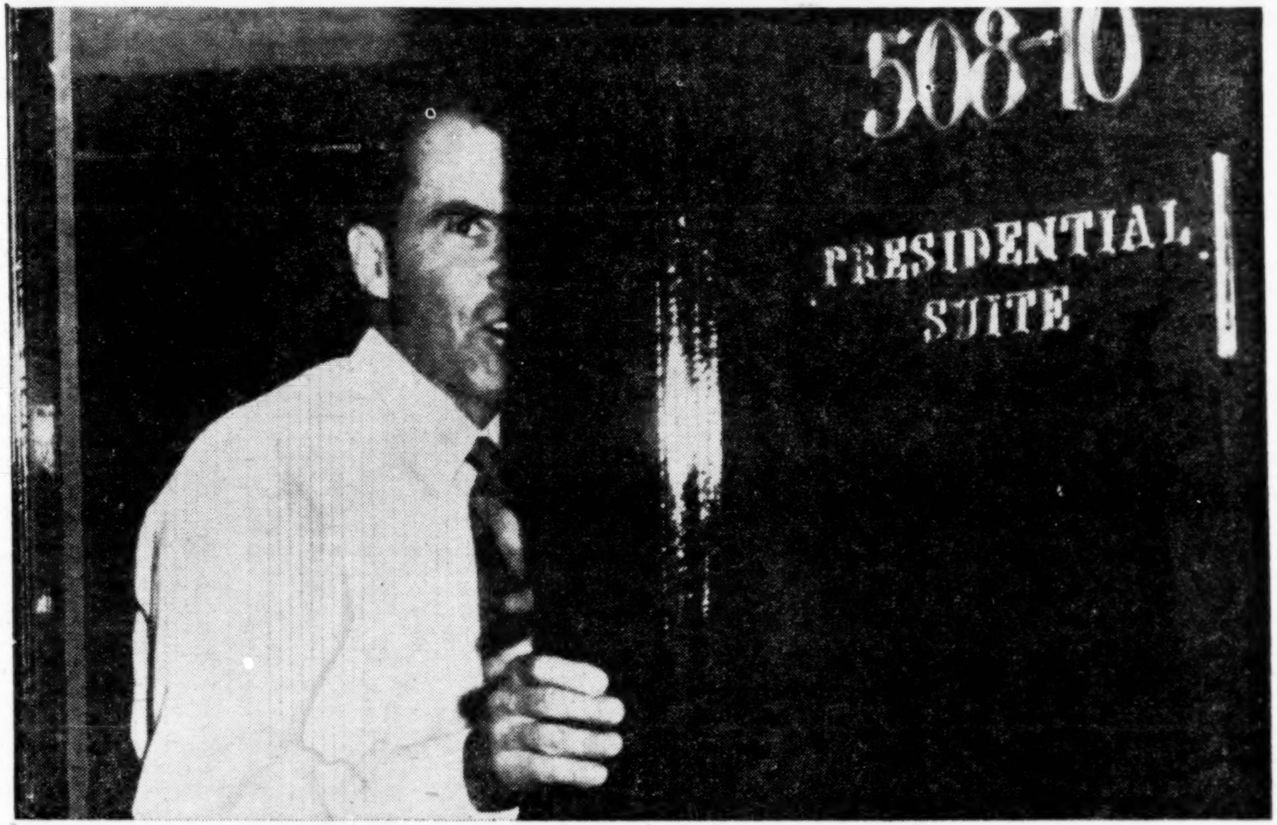

WELL, BLESS OUR BRITCHES—LOOK WHO'S PLAYING ALL GROWED-UP AND EVERYTHING!
Vice President Nixon tries out this Chicago suite for size, but it's miles too big for him.

DEMOCRATS WILL GET A MAJORITY, BUT . . .

Negro voters wish they had a choice

By Louis E. Burnham

OF ALL THE VOTERS who go to the polls on Nov. 4, the average Negro voter will probably cast his ballot with less enthusiasm, less total commitment to the party of his choice, than any other. Both Democratic and Republican politicians are fighting hotly to hold or improve their positions among the Negro electorate, but increasing numbers of Negroes are wishing they had a third alternative.

Lacking one in almost every Congressional election and in most states, they will make the customary choice between the two old parties, and the Democrats will probably come off with the big portion of the Negro vote. But it is likely to be less of a lion's share than usual; and the Republicans will know that any gains they make will be the result, not of the Negro's affection for what has not been the party of Lincoln for generations, but rather of his despair with the party of Eastland.

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE: Evidence of this trend was seen in a recent N.Y. **Times** survey of political sentiment among the 4,000,000 Negro voters in the Northern and border states. Civil rights performance was the main standard against which they measured both parties and neither cut much of a figure. The Democrats were indicted for failure to control the Dixiecrats; the Republicans for Eisenhower's "go slow" admonitions. While the dissatisfaction was expressed most sharply by Negroes of middle and higher incomes, workers in the North tended to stick with the Democrats because of the "Republican recession."

Another major issue in many Negro communities was machine rule which has stymied the Negro's efforts to influence party policy and to win nomination and election to office. Among the most precious of rights for which Negroes fight, North and South, is the right, not only to vote, but to be voted for.

Only four Negroes (Powell, N.Y.; Dawson, Ill.; Diggs, Mich., and Nix, Pa.) serve among the 435 members of the House of Representatives, though Negroes are 10% of the population. None has served in the Senate since Hiram Revels of Mississippi stepped down in 1876. Taking the nation as a whole, the Negroes' lack of representation in state legislatures, county commissions and mu-

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT ON THE ELECTIONS

Why America is uneasy as it goes to the polls

THERE WAS A CURIOUS QUALITY about the mood of the nation the week before election that could easily be mistaken for apathy. It was much more; its main characteristic was an uneasiness which was all-pervading. Samuel Lubell, the roving reporter for the Scripps-Howard newspapers, whose analyses of the political scene have been unusually astute, had this to say about the mood:

"It is not a fretting over something that has already happened. Mainly it reflects an anxiety over impending disaster, a sense that as a nation we are beset by problems that are slipping beyond our control . . . In short, in a surprisingly wide range of problems, much of the public has a feeling that we are being backed into a corner we can't get out of."

IN ITS COMPREHENSIVE regional pre-election survey, the N.Y. **Times** found this same uneasiness, compounded in some sections by anger born of frustration.

A Negro mechanic at a Cleveland gas station said to a **Times** reporter: "You know how I'd really like to vote? I'd like to vote for the whole United States Supreme Court, that's how I'd like to vote. When it comes to integration and civil rights stuff, neither party is worth a damn."

At a farmhouse in Monroe County, Wis., the mother of the family wondered aloud how she'd vote Nov. 4. She told the reporter: "I just don't know. Ike has kept us out of war but we have a lot of other problems. And I hear the Democratic Party is called 'the war party.' . . . Not long ago my eggs used to take care of our groceries and general household supplies with some left over for the children's clothes. It doesn't seem to any more."

In California and Ohio and other key states, a labor leadership grown too used to sitting down at testimonial dinners with the bosses, was jolted out of its complacency by the attack on the union shop through the so-called "right to work" laws.

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Omitted: Alger Hiss

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Your review (Oct. 13) of the GUARDIAN's first ten years provides an impressive, exciting commentary on the vital role you have played in the past decade. As one who participated with you in two of the great political trials that were exposed to the world through the pages of the GUARDIAN, I share in a small measure your pride in the journalistic record you have put together.

I was struck, however, by what appeared to me to be one gap in it: the absence of any reference to the drama of Alger Hiss. Surely, the conviction of Hiss had repercussions as far-reaching as any other American court proceeding of this century. The discrediting of the New Deal; the justifying of Congressional investigations into political beliefs; the blurring of all clear distinctions between such terms as liberal-progressive-radical-communist-spy-traitor; the all-out glorifying of the FBI; the birth of McCarthy, man and ism—all of these, and much more, are the heritage of the conviction of Alger Hiss.

..More, Richard Nixon, the most likely present candidate to become the 34th President of the United States, was catapulted to national prominence because of his role in this drama that led directly to the Republican Party's devastating 20-years-of-treason formulation.

William A. Reuben

The Socialist Labor Party

OWEGO, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN has been giving considerable attention to the Independent-Socialist ticket in New York and the Socialist Workers Party (Trotskyist) tickets in Michigan and Pennsylvania, but never mentions the largest socialist organization in America today, the Socialist Labor Party.

This party can now rightfully claim on the basis of its 1956 voting strength that it is the socialist movement in this country. The vote for President in that year gave the SLP 44,500 votes in 14 states as compared to 8,000 for the SWP and 2,500 for the Socialist Party in about a half dozen states each.

Whereas the GUARDIAN constantly calls for socialist unity and independent slates, the SLP is actively engaged in political action to the best of its resources and has slates on the ballots of seven states (Massachusetts, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Washington, Wisconsin, New Jersey) and is conducting write-in campaigns in five others. It is also possible that had the I-SP not confused the ballot issue in New York State the SLP would also be on the ballot in that state.

The GUARDIAN, I notice, has also ignored the Socialist Party campaigns for congress in Reading and New York City and for Governor in Connecticut. And though it had an interesting article on Sen. Byrd of Virginia in a recent issue there was no mention that he is being opposed by a Social Democratic candidate in that state.

These omissions, coupled with the stress placed on campaigns of the Trotskyists, former progressives and Ben Davis gives the appearance that the paper is not really concerned with all-inclusive socialist unity, as it claims.

I will vote my convictions by casting a write-in vote for the SLP's Eric Hass for Governor and then go down the line for all the other I-SP candidates.

Harold Flincker

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"From the response I have had it seems quite apparent that America is beginning to awaken to the fact that difficulties here in Little Rock and the South are not a matter of integration vs. segregation—but primarily that of communism vs. Americanism," [Arkansas Attorney Genl.] Bennett said.

—Seattle **Times**, Oct. 4

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: M. H., Seattle, Washington.

George Marion

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

On Nov. 2, 1955, George Marion met his untimely death. He fell dead after writing his last page of the foreword to the Czechoslovak edition of **Stop the Press!**

It is a great pity that this great idealist and humanitarian didn't live to see the march of events he foresaw. As an international journalist he too would have got his passport now and so the right to earn a living.

Anselm & Nina Hammer

Same old dilemma

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Just 35 years ago, E. M. Forster, English author of **Passage to India,** wrote "A Voter's Dilemma." I take the liberty of dedicating these extracts from his poem to N.Y. gubernatorial candidates Harriman and Rockefeller.

Nice Mr. Grey and Mr. Brown
Have recently arrived from town,
Their country's interests to promote.
I wonder how I ought to vote?
Each is so pleasant and so rich
I scarce remember which is which,
Each has shares in steels and rails and gas
And oil, and coal, so that—alas!
I scarce distinguish what they say,
Nice Mr. Brown and Mr. Grey.

"Our difference" (they say to me)
"Lies in our fiscal policy."
Mr. Brown's a Conservative
And certain products that arrive
From certain countries, he would tax—
I think he mentioned sealing-wax—
While Mr. Grey's a Liberal,
And wouldn't tax such things at all.
Each wears a well-cut overcoat:
I wonder how I ought to vote?

. . . Mr. Brown and Mr. Grey
Are rowing in the same old way—
The way of blood and fire and tears
And pestilence and profiteers . . .
Nice Mr. Grey! Nice Mr. Brown,
Why trouble to come down from town?

Annette T. Rubinstein
Independent-Socialist candidate for Lieutenant Governor

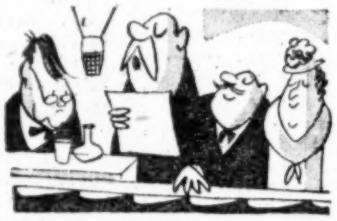
A cause for shame

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I am a Jewish refugee from Germany whose existence was destroyed, whose relatives were murdered by the Nazis. I consider the dynamiting of a synagogue an atrocity. But equally atrocious is the bombing of an integrated school. I find the race-murder of a Negro, the annihilation of human life, even more detestable than the destruction of any building, religious or secular. There is no difference between hatemongers, they may hate Jews, Catholics or Negroes.

I felt ashamed for our country when I read that the West German Foreign Office fired Hans von Saucken, a member of its consulate in New York, for making an anti-Semitic remark, and said the incident was deeply regretted. The intention of the German government to abolish racial discrimination seems much more serious and the speed much less deliberate than in our democracy.

John H. Beck



Eccles in London Worker

"We Conservatives have always believed in house ownership—I personally own over 150."

Butcher Aronus

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The GUARDIAN is to be complimented for alerting its readers, via a recently-published letter to the editor, of Dr. Hubertus Strughold's employment by our Air Force despite a record of crimes against humanity at infamous Buchenwald.

But have you ever heard of Dr. Heinz Aronus who, under Exterminator Adolph, was a major "researcher" in human affliction at Eastern sector concentration camps? This fiend, holder of several high Nazi awards for his "scientific" work, is now on the payroll of our Federal Health and Welfare agency.

Now is the time to ask your Congressman what Butcher Aronus is doing in the land of the free. If merely 10% of GUARDIAN readers write, this question will start an echo in Congress that will not quiet down till Aronus is thrown out.

It's fortunate for those who treasure truth and freedom that a paper as courageous in these matters as the GUARDIAN exists!

M. Magnel

Ten years ago in the Guardian

A FEW HOURS AFTER THIS, our third issue, comes into the hands of most of its readers, Gideon's Army will know its own strength in America.

And the common people in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America, whose hopes for a better life were kindled by the Atlantic Charter, who fought and still fight for what it promised—these millions will know how much they may still look with hope toward the country whose destiny, for better or worse, is still bound with their own.

We know that press and radio have done their utmost to misrepresent the Progressive program, and we know why. If the Progressive Party vote be small, it will show that most of the people have been fooled—or scared—some of the time. Even if the party's highest hopes prove justified, many Americans will still have been fooled—some of the time.

—From a Page One Editorial, November 1, 1948.

For 3 new readers

GUARDIAN READERS can now get—free of charge—Abraham Polonsky's novel, **A Season of Fear,** simply by sending us three new $1 subs (see coupon, p. 3). You will want to add to your library this penetrating story of the effect of cold war America on neighbors like yours and ours. 224 pp. Hard cover.

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the progressive newsweekly

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AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

America goes to polls

(Continued from page one)

Thus, despite the bumper harvest and the rising hog and cattle prices, despite the cars on the roads and the burgeoning suburbs, despite the persisting appearance of material plenty, there was a restlessness in the land. The people looked to the leadership in Washington for a way out of the dilemma, but they found a President who knew nothing and did nothing, and a Congress that knew plenty and did nothing.

The people looked at the lists of candidates and they found that they were to elect 435 members of the House of Representatives, 33 Senators, the same number of governors and a couple of dozen state legislatures. They looked for an alternative to what they had and, except in rare cases, they found none. As columnist Doris Fleeson put it in the N.Y. **Post**: "There is much truth to the charge being made so plaintively by the political partisans that there is little difference today between the parties."

SO, MANY PEOPLE STAY HOME on Election Day. But abstention gains nothing, and we do not recommend it. Rather the NATIONAL GUARDIAN has for ten years urged a vote for an alternative wherever it has been possible, and encouraged the formation of independent political groups wherever feasible. We do so again at this election time.

This is not to say that there are no candidates in the two old parties who are deserving of support. We do not hold with the theory that it is impossible for a progressive or a socialist to vote for a candidate on the sole objection that he is on a capitalist party ballot. Unfortunately, with our limited resources and facilities, it is all but impossible in thousands upon thousands of election districts to pinpoint such choices for our readers. But we trust in the good judgment of our readers to find these candidates out and to give them their support. This is intelligent voting.

What we can do and have done is to seek out and to list for support those independents and socialists, or united independents and socialists, who are running on a clear-cut program of peace, equal rights and economic common sense. Unfortunately, they are so few that they are not too hard to seek out. If we have ignored any it is not through intent (as a Mailbag letter this week implies) but simply because we did not know about them.

IN AN ARTICLE ON PAGE FIVE we have laid out for all residents of this Republic to witness the evidence showing how difficult it is for a dissenting voice to appear on the ballot. This for us is the core of the fight for the right of the people to vote for what they want—and not for what they don't want. If this right is denied, the word democracy becomes a mockery. And the word debate becomes a fiction of editorial writers and reporters who know better.

Except in a few areas the election of 1958 has been an election without debate. Shifty Dick Nixon did not provide the grounds. The Eisenhower-Truman marching and chowder road-show was a grisly little comedy; one disinterested old duffer reading canned speeches which he did not in the vaguest way comprehend; the other gabby old gamecock bragging about his dirty war in Korea and daring the Chinese to knock the chip off our shoulder. Lincoln and Douglas were never like this.

THE NATIONAL UNEASINESS WE SPOKE OF earlier is a mood that has been growing—through the tensions of international crises, the integration battle, the witch-hunts and the regional recessions. It indicates a basic good sense in the people who seem to be saying that they know something is terribly wrong and they would welcome constructive leadership out of the oppressive psychological swampland.

It is because we recognize this mood that we have so patiently and persistently tried to keep alive and vigorous a dissenting minority which can become an assenting majority. Because of this we have concentrated especially this year on the most hopeful area of expression in this election—the campaign of the Independent-Socialist Party in New York State.

For us, the successful struggle of this fledgling movement against Tammany Hall to secure a place on the ballot was a hopeful portent even before the election. If the new movement achieves a permanent place on the ballot, it will be an even greater victory: it will give heart to others all over America. If it does not, it means that those of us who believe in the basic right of Americans to make their own choice must fight even harder for that principle, both in the state and in the nation.

—THE GUARDIAN

LABOR

THE JOB THAT WAS LEFT UNDONE

Reuther prestige drops following '58 pacts

Special to the Guardian

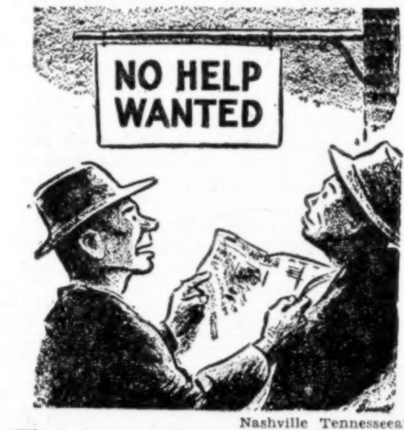
DETROIT

FOR 11 YEARS Walter Reuther has had complete command of the United Auto Workers apparatus without effective opposition. He has had his way on most important issues at conventions and no one has run against him for the presidency for several years. But his prestige among the auto workers is on the wane today.

The 1958 contracts added no luster to his reputation. He promsed last year to win the biggest wage gains in the union's history, but he settled for the smallest concessions since World War II, that is, since he became president. The workers accepted the national settlement not as a victory, but because they saw no alternative with a leadership unwilling to fight for more. Even so, one-sixth of the 272 members of the union's GM Council resisted the International's pressure and voted to reject the contract.

Lack of enthusiasm for the national contract and dissatisfaction with conditions in the shops were so evident that Reuther, breaking with precedent, gave qualified approval to local strikes. These were as solid and stubborn as any in the union's history, demonstrating that the workers are ready to fight for issues important to them (work standards, relief time, etc.) when their leaders give them a little elbow room.

BUNGLED: The meagerness of the 1958 contract gains is not the main worry of many auto workers, including local leaders who have been uncritical supporters of Reuther up to now. As realistic people, they know that the union cannot win everything it wants every time it negotiates; that the recession weakened their bargaining position in some respects this year; that the Big Three coordinated their contract efforts more closely than ever before. What bothers them most is the feeling that Reuther bungled the negotiations from the beginning by selecting the wrong issues and handling them in the wrong way.



Nashville Tennessean

"That sign can't be right—Ike says we're just undergoing a MINOR recession."

The April, 1957, UAW convention voted unanimously to make the shorter work week with no reduction in weekly take-home pay the union's number one demand this year. A popular issue in the shops among both high and low seniority workers, it was simple, easily understood, and coped with the problems of unemployment and automation. It was an issue clearly worth fighting for and, because of its social implications, capable of rallying wide support outside the labor movement.

Everybody in the UAW was for it—except Reuther. At a special convention in January he demanded that it be dropped from the number one position; in effect, dropped altogether. He sought first, with some cold-war demagogy, to justify the retreat by the "sputnik menace," arguing that now is not the time for our country to work fewer hours. But his main argument was that, since the general climate in the country is becoming unfavorable to labor, the union must confine itself to "non-inflationary" demands.

SWEET MUSIC: The implications of this argument were not explored at the convention, becoming obscured by Reuther's "profit-sharing" substitute for the shorter week, which was never seriously intended and which he withdrew from the bargaining table at the start of the negotiations. But the implications were serious, and affected everything that followed. For what Reuther was saying in effect was that substantially higher hourly wages (a necessary adjunct of the shorter week) are inflationary.

WALTER REUTHER

Promises outran performance

No music ever sounded sweeter to the ears of the Big Three. The employers spend millions trying to sell the American people the notion that higher wages are the cause of inflation. And now the president of the biggest industrial union had joined the act!

The corporations reacted with arrogant assurance: Before they sat down at the bargaining table, Reuther had disarmed the union on a major point, and had done incalculable injury to all unions seeking wage raises. If the UAW thereafter won little more than the corporations offered originally, it was thanks to this self-defeating strategy more than anything else.

NEW ROLE: Union leaders have had things easy since World War II. They found the employers, wallowing in profits, generally willing to make some concession in return for labor stability, which the union leaders helped them maintain. Believing in the present economic system more deeply than many a capitalist and dreaming of permanent peaceful coexistence between capital and labor, they have come to place greater reliance on persuasion of the employers than on mobilization of the members for struggle.

Their lives are increasingly separated from those of the workers they are supposed to represent, and in negotiations they play more and more the part of mediators between the employers and workers. (George Meany's recent acceptance of the official post of arbitrator between 20 major steamship companies and the ship officers' union is unprecedented, but it produced few gasps because it is only an extension of the role that other union leaders play unofficially with regard to their own unions, including the UAW.)

But the boom has dried up. Employer attitudes are stiffening. Unemployment will remain high even when production picks up again. The current anti-labor offensive is becoming more threatening, even though limited for the time to harassment and regulation of unions, rather than wide-scale union-busting. All the signs are that in the present and coming period concessions will be harder to get, and that it will take real fighting to get them.

THE JOB AHEAD: Reuther's methods, which "worked" during the boom, got a preliminary test under new conditions this year, and proved wanting. His "non-inflationary" approach did nothing to curb inflation. His claim to have won "substantial progress . . . for those laid off" is jeered by the auto workers in the unemployment compensation offices. Even the Chamber of Commerce, exuding maximum "optimism," predicts that no more than half the 300,000 unemployed in the three-county Detroit area can count on being back to work by the end of this year.

The UAW still has to do what it left undone in 1958. To fight unemployment, it will have to raise the banner again for the shorter work week, and raise it in the spirit of militant struggle, for that is the only way this demand can be won. To fight inflation, it will have to oppose the $40 billion arms budget, the prime feeder of inflation, and the reactionary foreign policy from which the budget derives. Chances for winning the union's members to support of such a program may be greater now, after Reuther's sorry performance, than any time in the last decade.

HAPPY DAYS FOR GM, FORD AND CHRYSLER

Detroit jobless: 'They left us in the cold'

Special to the Guardian

DETROIT

THE MORNING AFTER the national GM-UAW settlement, the Detroit **Free Press** printed across the top of its front page an article ending this way:

"GM, Ford and Chrysler are happy. Reuther is happy. Happy days are here again."

The Big Three and Reuther may be happy, but the feeling doesn't seem to be shared by auto workers, least of all by those unemployed. "Nothing to be happy about. Nothing's changed," said one picket at a GM plant, where a strike over local demands was continuing.

Some expressed relief that a national strike had been averted: "What good would it do? The International wasn't asking for enough to make it worth while." This was not anti-strike sentiment, for the same people favored continuing the strikes over local issues they are familiar with.

"It's a bad year for winning anything," one said, excusing Reuther's conduct of the negotiations.

"That's no reason for signing a three-year contract," another answered. "What's the good of having conventions and voting not to sign for more than two years, and then Reuther signs for three?"

STABILITY, PROGRESS: GM vice president Louis Seaton said the settlement "should mean for employes three good years of stability." Where Seaton saw "stability," Reuther saw "substantial progress for those employed now, those laid off, those who were retired."

Whatever employed and retired UAW members may think of this view, talks with laid-off workers at unemployment compensation offices found few who would endorse it.

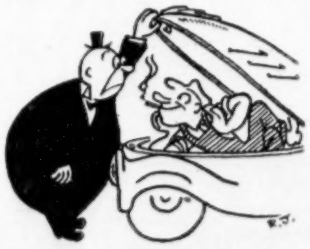
"Listen," said a jobless Ford worker with ten years' seniority, "the only kind of progress I can get is to get back on the job."

"My compensation runs out in three weeks," a Chrysler worker said. "What do I do then? The worst mistake the union made was to give up the shorter work week fight."

"They left us out in the cold," said another bitterly.

Employer groups and the daily press were campaigning "to kill pessimism and revive optimism," as the **Free Press** put it. A local Chamber of Commerce official had "good news": "The recession will end before Christmas in the Detroit area."

CHEERLESS FIGURES: But the figures he cited were not the kind to bring cheer to the jobless. In August there were 300,000 laid off in the three-county Detroit area. Half of these, he predicted, will go back to work during the fourth quarter of 1958. For the other 150,000 he could venture only the vague "hope they can be put back to work early in 1959 as general economic conditions improve."



If these 150,000 (mainly younger people and Negroes) come to believe that the UAW has turned its back on them, a dangerous situation for the union movement will be created. In self-defense, the UAW will have to resume the fight for the shorter work week which its leaders abandoned without firing a shot.

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SHADES OF LINCOLN—DOUGLAS!

The great debate of Ike and Harry leaves voters cold

THE CHAMPS OF BOTH major political parties in the current campaign thrashed out the issues in a manner that has left them battered beyond recognition —if indeed they were recognized in the first place. The "debate" was carried on by former President Truman, mainly in early morning strolls with the press, and by President Eisenhower, through the courtesy of a new script writer named Dr. Malcolm C. Moos, an ex-professor of political science at Johns Hopkins U.

The exchange touched on the issues of war and peace, prosperity and depression, segregation and integration, radicalism and dynamic conservatism. These are high-points of the debate:

Moos-Eisenhower recalled a slogan that was successful shortly before we entered World War I. He said: "Our young men have not gone to war."

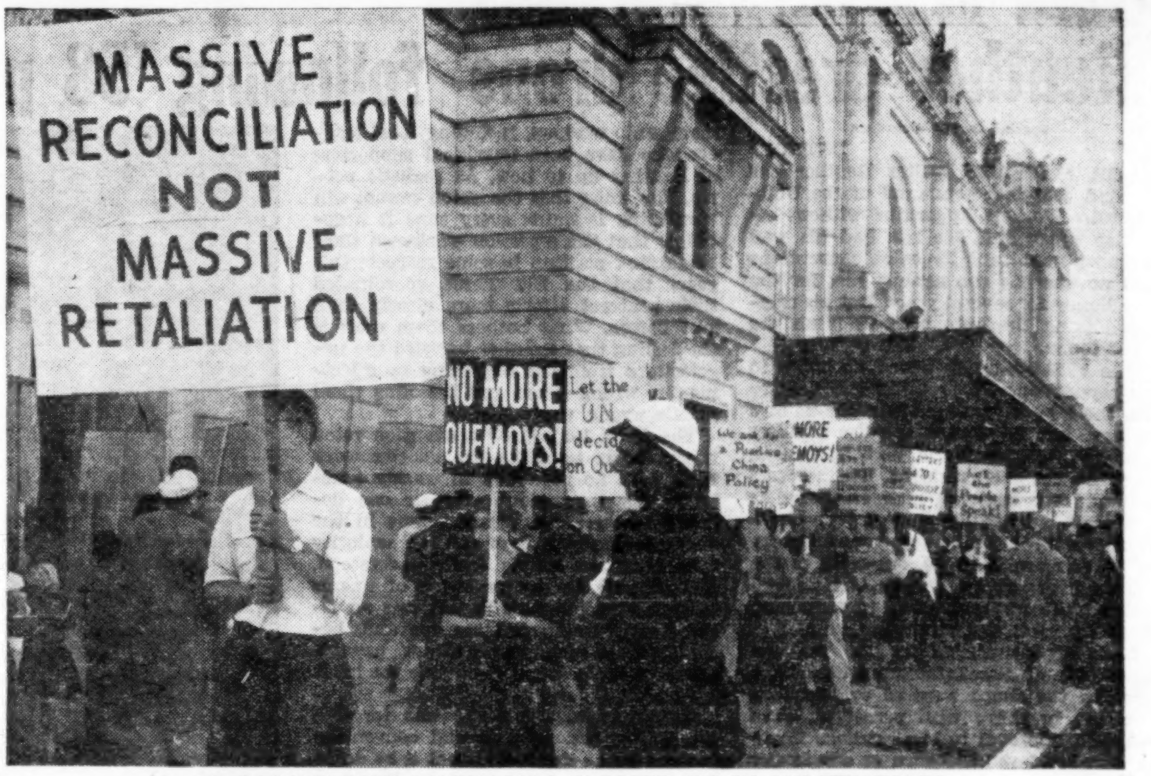
Truman, in the course of a brisk walk near his New York headquarters in the Carlyle Hotel, countered by claiming that Eisenhower "went to Korea and surrendered" in 1952 and "we are now all paying the price." He denounced the "Dulles foreign policy" until someone pointed out that Dulles had served under Truman as well. Next time around the block Truman snapped: "When Dulles had a boss who told him what to do he did very well."

When pressed for a clear statement from the Opposition on the Quemoy-Matsu crisis, Truman said: "Partisanship ought to stop at the water's edge."

TO THOSE WHO STILL THOUGHT unemployment and the rising cost of living was a problem, the President read a Moos script which said: "Things are good and getting better every day."

Truman answered: "The bankruptcy business—that's the business the government has improved." The former President went on to lay the housewife's burden of rising market prices at the GOP door, but was met by a well-aimed statistic to the effect that the cost of living rose 50% in the Truman years and 9% under Eisenhower.

Eisenhower took note of the economic crisis but used the past tense. He said: "Periodically the business cycle will temporarily slow down. This happened in our country a year ago. What then did those of little faith do? At once they rushed to the Wailing Wall."


MASSIVE RECONCILIATION NOT MASSIVE RETALIATION
NO MORE QUEMOYS!
Let the UN

THIS BLOCK-LONG PICKET LINE GREETED IKE IN SAN FRANCISCO
Committee against nuclear weapons protests Dulles' China policy.

With his back to the wall, Truman answered: "The Republicans are paralyzed in the face of the recession because they can't do anything that would offend the people they represent—the special interests and financial manipulators who control the Republican Party."

Vice President Nixon interjected an appeal to Republicans not to "allow ourselves to be a punching-bag for the cheap political cracks of Harry Truman and his ilk."

TRUMAN AND HIS ILK went on to nail the GOP with Sen. Knowland's support of the "right to work" laws. Eisenhower called for "fumigating" the unions.

Truman daily blistered the Republicans as a monolithic mastodon of big business but Eisenhower read back Dr. Moos' neat dissection of the American donkey. The Democrats, he said, "have political schizophrenia . . . one wing attacks states' rights—the other defends them. One prates of civil rights—the other fights them. One stands for big government—the other for decentralization. One wing is big city—the other rural. One is spendthrift—the other conservative." The opposition, he said, "can offer America only deadlocked government—government that wages war on itself."

He said the dominant Democratic wing was led by "political radicals . . . It is against the spread of their radical influence that we are waging this campaign."

Radical Harry Truman had only one answer to this compliment. He said that the very word "radical" was first used by Republicans.

THERE WERE INDICATIONS last week that the electorate was having trouble maintaining its interest in the great debate. When the President broadcast his Chicago speech over the CBS network, the New York Arbitron report, which estimates TV audiences, gave him a rating of 7.1. "Bat Masterson," a non-party Western gun-toter, appearing at the same time on Channel 4, scored 23.7. Bat will not appear on any ballot.

The Negro voters

(Continued from Page 1)

nicipal bodies is equally striking.

CALIFORNIA'S 26TH: An elementary demand, therefore, is for the right of the major ethnic group in many constituencies to have their own voice in government. Often this places the Negro community in conflict with legislators whose record on civil rights and domestic social issues has been liberal, in response to the needs of their constituents.

Thus, in California's 26th C.D. Negroes have countered the Democrats' refusal to replace incumbent James Roosevelt with a Negro candidate by running against him a Negro Republican, attorney Crispus Wright. In an overwhelmingly Democratic district, Roosevelt will be a shoo-in, but Wright's candidacy is in earnest and forecasts a change which must eventually occur, not only in the 26th, but in another dozen or so districts throughout the North.

In the South, any substantial increase in the current trifling amount of Negro representation will depend on winning the vote for masses of disfranchised Negroes. A year ago, Clarence Mitchell, secy. of the legislative bureau of the NAACP, forecast that a registration campaign then getting under way would result in the election of at least five Negroes to Congress from the South by 1960. There would be three from Mississippi, and one each from South Carolina and North Carolina, he said.

RESISTANCE HARDENS: Difficulties in getting the campaign off the ground as of now would seem to belie his optimism. The 1957 figure of 1,238,000 Negroes registered throughout the South has not increased by much, and with the exception of a few big cities, such as Memphis, resistance has stiffened all along the line.

Nevertheless, the habit of seeking public office is spreading among Negroes below the Mason-Dixon line. In primary elections this year Negroes have run for the state legislature in South Carolina, for city councils in Savannah, Ga., Richmond, Va., Bradenton, Fla., and other cities. In Alabama last March a Negro, Perry L. Thompson, announced, then withdrew as candidate for the Democratic nomination for Governor.

The chance that one of four Negroes running on the Republican ticket for the lower house of the Tennessee legislature may win has Memphis politicians worried. They are talking about eliminating the "single shot" vote by which Negroes mass their voting power to back one of their own against a field of white candidates, none of whom supports their needs. Mississippi, Louisiana, Alabama and Georgia have already prohibited it by requiring voters to cast ballots for as many candidates as there are offices to be filled.

A DIXIE NIGHTMARE: The Dixiecrats' profound fear of the Negro vote was summed up recently by one of their most avid champions, U.S. **News and World Report**:

"A politician's nightmare is shaping up in this picture of the South. If the white man and the Negro throw down racial prejudice and work together, unionization will grow. With stronger unions, the workers can do the same job on Southern conservatives they have done on Northern conservatives . . . In this situation old-line Southern politicians are fighting with their backs to the wall. If white and Negro workers in the South manage to work together and get to the polls, they can send a new kind of Southerner to Washington. He would speak for the poorest people in the nation."

Once the right of representation is won, the Negro community is soon faced with an equally important question: the quality of the Negro representation. This issue was at the heart of the primary tussle between Rep. Adam C. Powell and Tammany boss Carmine G. DeSapio in Harlem. The issue simmers with varying intensity in every area where Negro legislators permit their fight for full rights to be hampered by the petty politics of the machines.

AN IMPORTANT NEED: Beyond this, there is another important need in the Negro communities: candidates who will put forward a consistently progressive program on all issues, not civil rights alone, and who will lead their people into significant alliance with the more advanced leaders of the labor movement and with the advocates of socialist solutions for American problems.

A few Negro candidates in the current campaign stand on such a platform. They represent a goal toward which substantial sections of the Negro people—hard-pressed and dissatisfied with Tweedledee and Tweedledum—may be persuaded to move once they are convinced that they do not move alone.

FIGHTING BUS JIMCROW IN BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
On Oct. 20 these Negroes tested a new segregation ordinance giving bus drivers the right to tell Negroes where to sit. Here the bus driver said, "Sit in the rear." The Negroes sat in front. Thirteen were arrested that day for "breach of peace."

NEW YORK STATE ELECTION

Independent-Socialists win definite place on ballot

THE INDEPENDENT-SOCIALIST Party took over Row D on the New York State ballot last week after the Court of Appeals, the state's highest court, rebuffed the last-ditch efforts of Secy. of State and Democratic boss Carmine DeSapio to keep the party off the ballot.

DeSapio originally had contested signatures in three counties on technical grounds, although the party had filed 27,000 signatures, state-wide. The lower courts ruled for the I-SP and the higher court upheld their decisions.

The court victory, upsetting most political predictions, spurred party activity in the campaign's wind-up week. The week began with a flurry of radio and TV broadcasts. Gubernatorial candidate John T. McManus appeared on the CBS-TV program **Right Now** with his opponents Gov. Averell Harriman, GOP contender Nelson Rockefeller and Eric Hass of the Socialist Labor Party, a write-in candidate.

Mrs. Jane McManus filled in for her husband on the Citizens' Union **Searchlight** program over WRCA-TV. After pointing out that there was no difference between the Democratic and Republican candidates, Mrs. McManus said: "I think Mr. Rockefeller is cuter and since it is a personality contest I suppose Mr. Rockefeller will win. But my husband is the only one with the issues."

WAR STILL TO BE WON: The closing days of the campaign found Senatorial candidate Corliss Lamont and McManus on an upstate swing. They talked to auto and electrical workers in Buffalo meetings, and broadcast on a farm program over Schenectady's radio station WGY. On Oct. 30 the full slate was to appear at Palm Gardens in New York for a final rally which was to hear also from artist Rockwell Kent and Charlotta Bass, 1952 Vice-Presidential candidate of the Progressive Party.

In hailing the Court of Appeals decision, Henry Abrams, chairman of the United Independent-Socialist Campaign Committee, said:

"The battle has been won but not the war. We must get 50,000 votes for John T. McManus, our candidate for Governor, to insure our permanent place on the ballot.

"We urge all voters who want an effective peace program, an end to segregation and an answer to the recurrent recession and inflation which are so costly to the workers, to vote on Row D for John T. McManus for Governor, Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein for Lt. Governor, Capt. Hugh N. Mulzac for Comptroller, Scott K. Gray for Attorney General and Dr. Corliss Lamont for Senator."

Abrams added his personal recommendation to voters of the 21st Senatorial District in Manhattan to write in the name of Benjamin J. Davis for State Senator. Davis, a Communist leader running on the People's Rights ticket, was deprived of ballot status on a successful challenge by DeSapio.

We recommend

LAST WEEK the GUARDIAN published a list of candidates whom we urged our readers to support. This week we add to the list:

ILLINOIS: United Socialist: **Rev. Joseph P. King**, for Congress, 2nd CD, Chicago.

NEW YORK: Liberal Party: Leroy Bowman, for Congress, 12th CD, Brooklyn.

Vote Yes on all propositions except the one legalizing Bingo.

CALIFORNIA: Democratic Party: Irving Glasband, for Congress, 22nd CD, Los Angeles.

VIRGINIA: Social Democratic Party. Clarke T. Robb, U.S. Senator.

IN COLORADO

'Wisely for Isely'

IN LAKEWOOD, COLO., a husband and wife, after a discussion on what kind of a program he would run on if a candidate for Congress, decided to announce themselves as independent candidates on a "Platform for the Conservation of Life."

He, Philip Isely, is running for Congress; she, Margaret, is running for Colorado General Assembly. They live in a do-it-yourself house on Lookout Mountain west of Denver, operate a health foods store and have four sons aged from 3 to 9. They are Antioch graduates and world-government advocates. Their joint slogan: "Vote Wisely for Isely."

Their platform has 20 points, including a "disarmament race"; world government but a strong UN until that is achieved; a $2 billion federal "Peace Economy Planning Commission"; a "Public Investment Corporation" to back public enterprise; long-term family farm financing; a $2 billion resources development fund; a racial equality law; abolition of conscription; a "super-power grid" to link all primary sources of electric power to bring low-cost power to all; and a "right to leisure" law reducing the work week to 32 hours.

Copies available by writing to the Iselys at 11520 West Colfax, Lakewood 15, Colorado.

UNITED LIBERALS SOCIALISTS PARTY
CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
VOTE FOR
JAY G. SYKES U.S. Senate
JACK WRIGHT State Senate 37
CLYDE CARTER State Rep. 33
JERRY BARRETT State Sen. 32
UNITED LIBERALS AND SOCIALISTS PARTY
CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS
VOTE NO ON 202

THEY WAGED A SHARP AND SPIRITED CAMPAIGN IN WASHINGTON
It was a busy headquarters for the United ticket in Seattle

A voice for American activities

Special to the Guardian

LOS ANGELES

IRVING GLASBAND, Democratic Congressional candidate in the 22nd District, has added his name to the growing numbers of Californians speaking out for abolition of the House Un-American Activities Committee. Campaigning against the Republican incumbent, Joe Holt, Glasband opposed the recent Los Angeles hearings of the Committee.

"If the Committee is truly interested in un-American activities," he told a meeting of Young Democrats, "then it should be conducting its investigations in the South where the overthrow of the supreme law of the land by force and violence is not only well organized, but is, in some states, a campaign promise."

Glasband, a former school teacher, noted that some friends had warned him that opposition to the Committee would hurt his chances of election. "Nevertheless," he said, "I cannot refrain from expressing the view that matters of opinion and belief are not proper subjects for legislation, and hence are not fit objects of legislative inquiry. Freedom of thought and association are so precious that we cannot afford to permit Government an opportunity to pass its approval upon them."

THE TWO-PARTY SYSTEM IS FORCED ON THE NATION

48 ways to keep minority parties off the ballot

THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY of U.S. voters on this Nov. 4 are still faced with the choice of riding donkeys or elephants on "the same merry-go-round." But an article by Ralph Nader and Theodore Jacobs, two recent graduates, in the Oct. 9 issue of **Harvard Law Record**, debunks the notion that this situation has been brought about by some mystic loyalty on the part of the electorate to the two-party system. On the contrary, the article says, the system is rigged to maintain by rigid statutes "a practical monopoly of the ballot by the Democratic and Republican Parties."

Minority parties, which this year appear on some state ballots, got there only after energetic and costly battles against discriminatory laws harshly administered. Each state has its own requirements for ballot status. The most liberal are the least populous. The harshest are the key states in national politics where, in the past, minority parties have made impressive showings. In times when independent political activity threatens the major parties—as in the thirties and forties—the statutes have been toughened, the record shows.

PETITIONS REQUIRED: While the major parties may nominate by primary elections or at conventions, minority parties must nominate by petitions. The number of signatures required, their geographical distribution and a host of technicalities connected with the filing provide a varied series of booby-traps for those who challenge the two-party monopoly.

In Missouri, for example, independent canvassers must gather signatures equal to 2% of the total gubernatorial vote in the preceding election, or a maximum of 36,000 votes. Each signature must be individually certified by a public notary who personally knows the signer, or by two witnesses who can swear to his identity. Five other states also require that each signature be notarized.

In New York the requirement, met successfully this year, despite challenges, by the Independent-Socialist Party, is 12,000 signatures with at least 50 from each of 62 counties.

ILLINOIS CHALLENGE: The provision requiring a state-wide distribution of petition signers has been taken to the courts. In 1948 the Progressive Party challenged the Illinois law which requires 200 signatures from each of 50 counties of the state's 102 counties. The Supreme Court divided 6-3 on the case but upheld the law. Justice Douglas in his dissent said:

"The notion that one group can be granted greater voting strength than another is hostile to our standards of representative government."

The PP had pointed out that 25,000 voters in 50 underpopulated counties could get a party on the ballot; but the same number in 49 counties which might hold 87% of the state's registered voters would be denied ballot status.

The American Civil Liberties Union has drafted a model election law under which a minority party could get on the ballot with signatures equal to 1/10 of 1% of the total votes cast in the preceding gubernatorial election, or a maximum of 10,000. No state comes near the model. Connecticut requires the least—1% of the vote; Virginia the most—25%.

PLENTY OF ROADBLOCKS: There are other hamstringing statutes for small parties. Many states set filing dates four to six months before election, long before the campaign has awakened interest. Others sharply limit the time for gathering signatures; Pennsylvania, for example, requires that they be gathered in a 20-day period. In many places all those who voted in the last primary of another party, or who have been affiliated with another party within a specified time limit, are barred from signing petitions. Such requirements make it impossible for a new party to attract those who become disillusioned with the old parties in the midst of a campaign, or who seek a way to protest as the result of a last-minute scandal.

Many laws are so vaguely written that a lawyer can easily find technical reasons for invalidating signatures. On top of such hazards there are the extra-legal pressures. Nominating petitions are sometimes published publicly to embarrass or blacklist the signers. In the past bi-partisan vigilantes have threatened minority party petitioners.

ON SERVING NOTICE: Judges who rule in favor of harsh electoral statutes frequently point to the write-in as a way out for minorities. The **Harvard Law Record** calls the write-in "a somewhat illusory privilege." It is cumbersome and sometimes difficult technically. The **Record** cites the experience of the Socialist Party which is that write-in votes are frequently not counted at all.

The most common argument for restricting minority parties is that their appearance would make the ballot too complicated. To simplify matters that way, says the **Record** article, "is using the guillotine to cure a toothache and recalls the ardent cry: 'Quick, Susie, the hammer; there's a fly on baby's head.'"

Defending the historic usefulness of minority parties, whether or not they become majorities, the article says that ballot status is "the only practical way by which minor parties can say: 'Republicans and Democrats—take notice.'"

No matter what size vote it gathers, no party can be thought of as "minor" if it serves such notice against the biggest monopoly in the country—the bipartisan ownership of politics.

ANALYZING THE VOTE OF THE COLONIES

De Gaulle played his trumps in Africa

The results of the Sept. 28 plebiscite in French Africa surprised both those who expected a pro-de Gaulle landslide and those who expected a greater demand for independence on the part of the colonies. Most of them voted to stay with France, irrespective of whether the votes were cast spontaneously or, as in Algeria, corralled by pressure. However, Guinea (pop. 2,261,000 and about the size of Colorado) chose complete independence.

There were variations in other colonies. Madagascar, for example, decided to be a fully autonomous republic within the French community. Niger's population voted to remain with France, despite efforts in favor of independence by popular Chief Minister Djibo Bakary. The African Party of Regrouping, which advocates a West African and an Equatorial African Federation forming a commonwealth type of relation with France, charged irregularities in the Niger plebiscite. Bakary was later pressured into resigning with his entire Cabinet.

Many French African territories have not yet decided on either full autonomy or integration with France. But the trend seemed unmistakable. The states of Gabon, Ubangi-Shari, Chad and the Middle Congo in Equatorial Africa were toying with the idea of federation as urged by the Party of African Regrouping. All the French African countries were to some extent being influenced by the example of already independent neighboring states like Morocco, Tunisia, Ghana and Liberia, and the soon to be free British Nigeria and Sierra Leone, and the French Trust Territory of Cameroons. This has not escaped the attention of Washington.

The following article analyzes the probable reasons behind the voting in the Sept. 28 plebiscite in French Africa.

By Anne Bauer
Gaurdian staff correspondent

PARIS

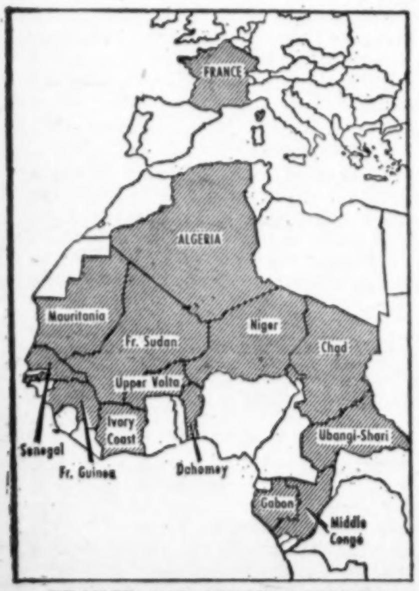
THE ALTERNATIVE of immediate independence by voting "No" or of membership in the French community in one form or another by voting "Yes," which Gen. Charles de Gaulle offered the French Overseas Territories in the September plebiscite, was the act of a man who decided to play all his trumps at once, realizing that he could not hold back a worldwide historic development.

The idea was not new; proposals for reorganizing the French Union on a liberal basis were put forward by Pierre Mendes-France in 1954 and by Gaston Defferre in 1956, but both were accused of wanting to scuttle the French Empire.

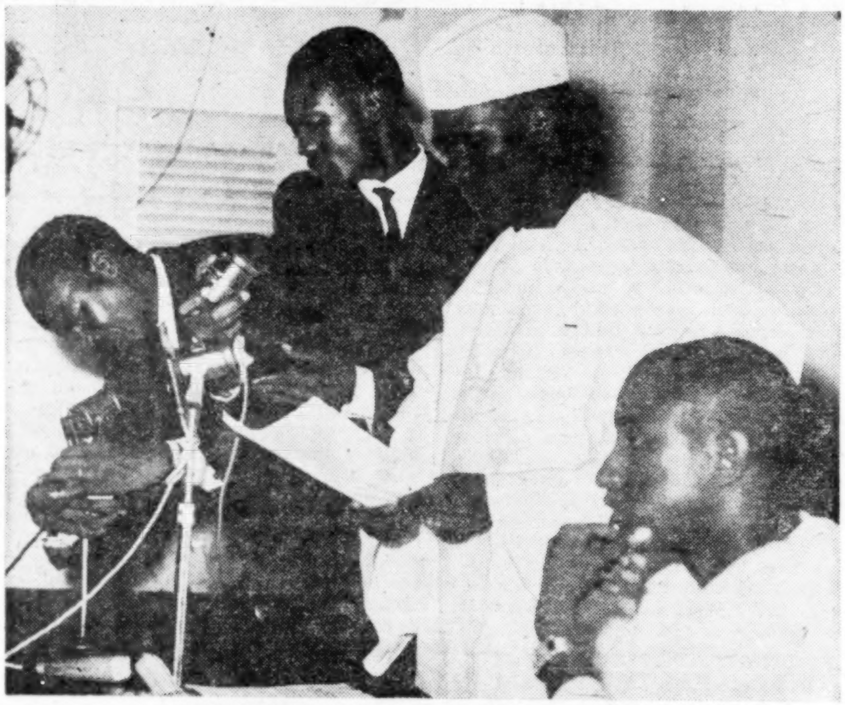
De Gaulle took the chance because the risk of an immediate "No" vote and what he called "secession" were strictly limited. French Guinea's choice was unsuspected before his visit there in August.

CALCULATED RISK: These are some of the reasons why the risk was a safe one:

- African voters were expected to follow their leaders' recommendation. Old-time politicians like the Ivory Coast's Huphuet-Boigny and Senegal's Leopold Senghor backed a "Yes" vote for reasons ranging from personal interests and rivalries to sincere economic or political convictions. So did the influential tribal and religious leaders. Leaders with a trade union background, such as Guinea's Sekou Toure and Niger's Djibo Bakary, urged a "No" vote. Seasoned African observers were surprised by the small vote the unions mustered in such territories as in Senegal, where their influence was thought to be considerable.
- Cultural ties are very strong and real between French Africa and Paris. The African intellectual elite has been fed and raised on French philosophical, literary and political traditions; it received its technical and professional training in France; it speaks French as a second mother tongue. France to them is still the country of the 1889 Revolution, the land of Liberty, Equality and the Rights of Man and therefore the most desirable cultural and intellectual partner.
- Economically, underdeveloped Black Africa for the present is dependent in varying degrees on outside financial and technical help. Guinea, with its yearly 5,000,000,000 francs worth of exports of iron ore, diamonds, bauxite (300,000 tons annually to Canada), bananas and coffee is in a relatively privileged position regarding industrial possibilties and agriculture-industry balance. Others, however, would rather continue to obtain economic aid from France than invite a change in master.



FRANCE AND AFRICAN EMPIRE
Madagascar, off SE coast, is not shown



THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF GUINEA
Sekou Toure reads speech before the Assembly which named him leader.

CLASSIC PATTERN: Though complex, Franco-African economic relations follow the classic colonial pattern: The state each year exports capital for services and investments in the overseas territories; trusts or private individuals draw the principal benefits from these investments.

From the African viewpoint, France is a partner who buys more than she sells: imports from Africa last year amounted to 176,000,000,000 francs, exports to 164,000,000,000 francs. Except for Algeria, French Africa actually absorbs only 1.7% of the national product. But African imports save France $100-200,000,000 annually for goods she would otherwise have to buy in the dollar market.

More important than trade is France's yearly financial effort in Black Africa: in 1957, about 200,000,000,000 francs in public expenses and 30,000,000,000 francs in private investments. But about half of what the state spends on Black Africa comes back to France as private profits through individual or trust channels.

BASIC CHANGES: This is because French state spending in Africa has changed its complexion. Between 1952 and 1957, productive investments decreased from 35% to less than 25%. Last year, military and administrative expenses ate up 72% of the total overseas investments. The useful investments did not produce the expected economic return because they were largely used for building transportation systems which private capital failed to exploit.

African production figures have shot up during the past decade—electricity seven-fold, coffee three-fold, cocoa two-fold; but due to constantly fluctuating food prices in the world market and inordinately high middlemen profits, the African's income and living standard has made little progress. Local industries, the barometer of economic independence, remain insignificant. Less than 1% of the population of French Black Africa are industrially employed. Influx of Western capital when political calm is restored will not necessarily remove this handicap from which Africans suffer.

EQUAL STATUS: Nevertheless, the threat of economic boycott has been an effective brake to potential voters for independence in the September plebiscite. Such a threat hangs over Guinea, where the American Olin Mathieson Corp. has a 53.5% interest in an Anglo-U.S.-Swiss $135,000,000 bauxite and aluminum project and a $275,000,000 International Bank-financed Konkoure Dam project, which would create a reservoir as large as Switzerland's Lake Geneva and produce a power potential of three billion kilowatt hours of electricity annually.

Despite this threat to shut off the financial flow, many French African leaders still plan to plug for equal status with France in a French Commonwealth. As Dahomey's Premier S. M. Apithy said, in the light of the march toward freedom by his neighbors, the French community should allow its African members "a rapid accession to independence."

THE POLISH 'LAPINS'

Nazi victims coming to U.S. for care

SOME OF THE POLISH women who survived—in various stages of disability—the Nazi "medical" experiments will shortly arrive in the U.S. for care and treatment. The development was announced in the Oct. 25 issue of the **Saturday Review** whose editor Norman Cousins organized the project. Cousins had also sparked the project that brought the "Hiroshima maidens" here for plastic surgery. The same group of volunteers who helped to restore the 24 Hiroshima victims have re-enlisted for the present mission.

There were about 400 Polish "lapins"—guinea-pigs—who suffered mutilation and infection in the Ravensbrueck concentration camp experiments. Only 53 are known to have survived. The West German government pays small sums in compensation to German victims of the concentration camps but nothing to Polish victims. The Polish government has made available for the Lapins whatever funds could be spared from reconstruction purposes, and are cooperating fully with the Cousins project.

A PRIVILEGE: Dr. William Hitzig of New York, sent to Poland by the project's organizers, said he was "deeply impressed with the highly advanced state of Polish specialized medicine." He and other project representatives told the Poles that they could not promise that U.S. medicine could do more for the Lapins than could Polish medicine but "that we wanted the privilege of making a small offering in behalf of people who had been made to see the blackest side of man that had been revealed in our time."

Dr. Hitzig and Polish medical authorities have already approved 22 Lapins for the trip to the U.S. and six others are being examined. They are expected to arrive before the end of the year. Cousins, who can be reached at the offices of the **Saturday Review**, 25 W. 45 St., New York 36, said in his editorial that $6,000 had been raised but that much more would be required. Clothing, homes for the Lapins while they are here, and medical supplies are still needed.

Elections to be analyzed at Cleveland Forum Nov. 9

AN ANALYSIS of the elections will be held under the auspices of the Cleveland Forum for Political Education on Sun., Nov. 9 at 3 p.m. at the Unitarian Society Hall, 8143 Euclid, Cleveland. The featured speakers will be Ernest Mazey, exec. secy. of the Detroit ACLU and former auto workers leader; Sam Pollock, president of Local 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters union; and Steve Grattan, former leader of the Intl. Typographical Union and current exec. director of the American Forum for Socialist Education. Dr. Oliver S. Loud of Antioch College will serve as moderator.

Admission is free and audience participation in the discussion is invited.

Guardian anniversary Jubilee in L.A. Nov. 8

SOUTHERN CALIFORNIANS will celebrate the GUARDIAN's tenth anniversary at a Jubilee Saturday night, Nov. 8, at the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand, Los Angeles. The committee of GUARDIAN readers sponsoring the affair promise a highly entertaining evening featuring "The Living Newspaper," a revue by The Guardian Angels.

Guest speaker will be Vincent Hallinan. Tickets are $1.25, including tax, and are available at: Community Pharmacy, 2331 Brooklyn Av., Atlas Optical Co., 610 S. Broadway; The Boroughs, 5921 W. Olympic Blvd., Alvarado Book Store, 608 S. Alvarado; Hugh Gordon Bookshop, 4312 S. Central; Modern Book Shop, 1702 E. 4th St.

EDUCATION IN TWO WORLDS

Soviet school system can't be model for U.S.

By Elmer Bendiner

AMERICAN EDUCATORS in sizable numbers return each month from excursions to the Soviet Union singing the praises of the school system there and warning the U.S. to go and do likewise—though perhaps with some important modifications. The fact is, though, that the U.S. cannot hope to imitate the Soviet system any more than the Soviets can take our schools as models.

When the Presidium of the Soviet Communist Party recently endorsed the educational proposals of Premier Nikita Khrushchev, it outlined a pattern that could scarcely fit the U.S. in any detail. Khrushchev suggested that compulsory schooling be cut to seven or eight years and that all but the most gifted go into factory or farm production. Then those with some years of production work behind them who have demonstrated their "thirst" for learning by attending night-school or correspondence school, and who are approved by the trade unions and Young Communist League, would be admitted to college.

POLYTECHNICAL STRESS: The curriculum in elementary school and in college would be drastically revamped to stress "polytechnical" courses; students at almost all levels would spend a good part of the school week in production work. Technical and vocational schools would be available to the worker who wanted to get ahead on the job. The educational aim would be to turn out "full-fledged Communist workers" wth a respect for work and the skill for it.

There has been a demand in the U.S. also to reduce the years of compulsory education. Here it has come not as part of an integrated plan amending the philosophy of education, but as a desperate measure to curb juvenile delinquency. Legislators, bedeviled by crime statistics, suggested that children be tossed out of school at the principal's discretion because the schools confessed themselves unable to deal with troublesome students.

In some states legislatures passed laws providing for such summary expulsions. The labor movement rallied to block final enactment. It was moved not so much by a solicitude for the youngsters as by the fear of aggravating unemployment.

THE "DIFFICULT" SCHOOLS: Even the proponents of such bills to undercut compulsory universal education admitted there was no place for the kids to go, that it offered no solution either to the troubled child or the community but only moved the school crisis to the street.

Vocational training—more recently accorded a fancy euphemism like "Industrial Arts"—has also figured in the U.S. system. Here, however, it is generally the last resort of weary educators. Students are relegated to vocational schools because they "did not make the grade" in academic courses or because they were discipline problems. Vocational schools are understandably regarded by teachers as "difficult."

Equipment is for the most part meager. In academic high schools the average reading ability is at least two years behind what it was 40 years ago and probably further behind present standards in other countries. In the vocational schools the reading ability is far worse; in some cases it barely qualifies the student as literate.

LEARN A TRADE: Negro students are often sent to vocational high schools not because of a personal failure but because it is considered more "practical" for minority groups to "learn a trade" than to try for a profession in which they would face discrimination or a higher education beyond their financial resources.

PLANNED TRAINING: The important difference between the Soviet and American stress on vocational training is in the picture that awaits the graduate. In the U.S. there is a constant battle for a job, the uncertainty that there will be any or that it will be in a student's chosen field, or that it will last long. To a great extent graduates do not enter careers; they fall or are pushed into them. Except for a few large companies, industry makes no plan for their advancement even technically. The "dignity of labor" is valued largely because it is better than the indignity of being broke.

In the Soviet Union, whatever legitimate fears the new proposals may arouse, vocational training is planned. The student-worker knows that there is not only a job waiting for him but crying for him. The new proposals come at a time when the Soviet Union is preparing a seven-year plan of industrial and agricultural growth that is likely to stun the world. The youth on his first job enters a system in which opportunity for orderly technical advance is open for him.

HUNT FOR TALENT: In both societies there is an intense talent hunt. In the U.S. we tend to sort out the vocational types from the college types by what many educators regard as the totally discredited criterion of the I.Q. test.

The I.Q. fixes a child's "mental age" by means of a test which is so framed that Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities rate lower than the native born; working-class children do worse than middle- or upper-class children; the country-raised lag behind the city-raised. Once a child is tagged with a "mental age" the system assumes that he is doing well if he measures up to that level. If his I.Q. rating marks a 12-year old as a mental eight-year-old, and if he happens to read like an eight-year-old, he is given no remedial reading.

The I.Q. is frequently listed as one of many factors responsible for a mass inability to read accurately. Estimates of the inability to read well in this country range from 50-80% of the adult population. In one sample survey an 18-year-old was asked to read a paragraph on the role of privateers in the Civil War. It came out: "And during the Silver War, the ship was used as a riveteer."

SHORTAGE OF COLLEGES: In the Soviet Union, as in most other countries, the basic tools of learning seem to be handed down in better shape. The reduction of compulsory education is therefore not as drastic as it would be here.

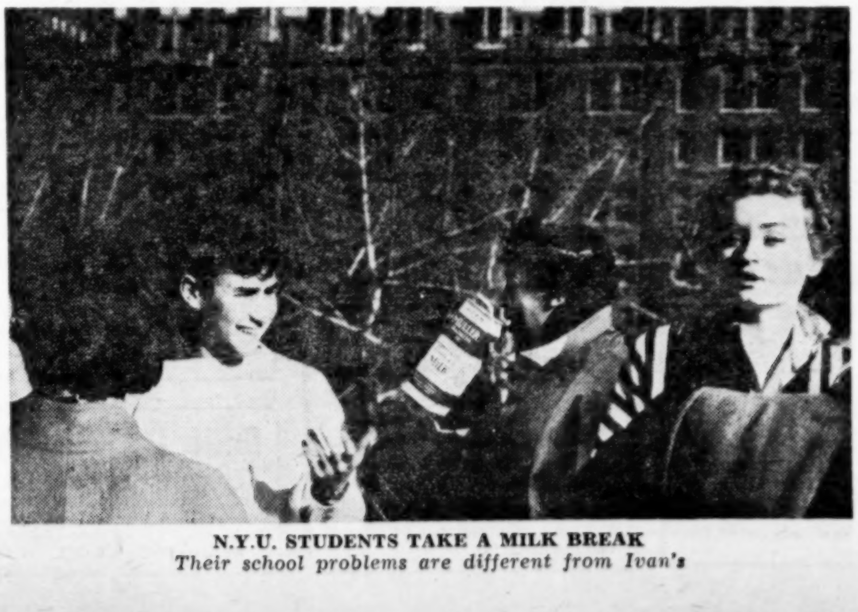
The college shortage exists in both countries, though far fewer attend colleges in the Soviet Union than in the U.S. Each must set up a criterion since neither country can admit all those who might choose to go to college.

In the Soviet Union, if the new proposals take effect, the criterion will be a proved talent in high school or a good work record in shop or farm plus enough enthusiasm for night courses plus an okay from the trade unions and Young Communist League.

Khrushchev indicated that family influence has counted for a lot up to now. Despite his condemnation, it probably will continue to count. If a student wants to go to college after his stint in the shops he has to have the necessary drive and energy to study and to overcome whatever bureaucratic hurdles may exist.

DIFFERING SYSTEMS: In the U.S. the principal criterion is money. Even in the midst of the Sputnik race, colleges this year raised their tuition fees 10% which, with another 10% rise in the cost of living, tends to select college students by class. The average total expenses in a public college is $1,650 a year (except in those cases where the student finds a public college in his town and can live at home). The average cost of education in a private college is $2,200 a year.

The difference between the Soviet and American systems of education is the difference between economic systems. They seem to be alike in only one deficiency: Neither as yet holds out the promise to everyone of what used to be an American educational ideal: the discovery, through the widest range of learning, of an individual's true capacities.



N.Y.U. STUDENTS TAKE A MILK BREAK
Their school problems are different from Ivan's

SMALL GIRL, BIG PROTEST
Her Matsukawa rally banner says: 'Don't kill innocent people'

MATSUKAWA FRAME-UP

World protests win new review of Japan case

AFTER FIVE YEARS of worldwide protest since a second trial in 1953, Japan's celebrated Matsukawa case will be reviewed a second time by the Japanese Supreme Court in open hearings from Nov. 3 to 23. Two hundred lawyers filed an 11,000-page appeal for the 17 defendants in 1955.

The case grew out of the derailment of a passenger train near Matsukawa station on Aug. 17, 1949, in which three railwaymen were killed. The wreck occurred at a time of militant trade union struggles of railway and public utility workers against state-owned enterprises. The government arrested 20 progressive unionists—19 men and one woman—and charged them with conspiracy to cause the derailment.

All of the defendants pleaded not guilty. Five said they were home when the wreck occurred. One defendant with a hip injury was supposed to have walked a long distance to the scene of the wreck. The prosecution offered as evidence a screwdriver a wrench and a claw-hammer of a type used exclusively by U.S. occupation troops in Japan as tools used to remove the rail spikes. Other evidence included confessions by alleged accomplices.

EVIDENCE REFUTED: For the defense, the station master said the screwdriver and other tools could not have dislodged the rail spikes. Some three thousand persons, including eminent scholars and technicians, walking the same route, showed that the crippled defendant could not have covered the distance as charged. The accomplices retracted their confessions.

At the second trial three of the original defendants were acquitted, but four were sentenced to death and two to life imprisonment. The remaining 11 were sentenced to terms ranging up to 15 years.

Since then new evidence has been found in behalf of Hajime Sato, one of those sentenced to death. On the day in August, 1949, when Sato was said by the prosecution to have been present at a meeting which allegedly plotted the train wreck, he was in fact negotiating as a union official with the Matsukawa branch of the Toshiba Electric Co. This fact is proved in the minutes of the negotiations taken by a company representative, but withheld by the prosecution.

PROTESTS URGED: As a result of enormous public pressure at home, protests from abroad and exposure of the flimsiness of the state's case, the Japanese Supreme Court, which rarely holds open hearings, has now agreed to hold such hearings in the Matsukawa case.

The Matsukawa Defense Committee urgently appeals to Americans to write to Supreme Court chief Kotaro Tanaka, who is said to be especially sensitive to U.S. public opinion.

Letters of protest should be written to Kotaro Tanaka, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, and airmailed to the Matsukawa Defense Committee, Dainaka Bldg., 7-12 Shimbashi, Shiba, Minato-ku, Tokyo, Japan. The Committee, after photostating the letters for the record, will forward the originals to the Chief Justice.

McManus to analyze elections Fri., Nov. 7

JOHN T. McMANUS, Independent-Socialist candidate for governor and GUARDIAN general manager, will present an analysis of the elections Friday evening, Nov. 7, at Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av., at the regular monthly meeting of the Metropolitan Fraternal Club. Questions from the audience will follow the talk. The public is invited.

The Taiwan crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

vention in case of a mainland uprising.

Chiang's press in Taiwan greeted the communique bitterly. The **China News,** for example, accused Dulles of pressuring Chiang to make concessions. It said that Chiang will yet have to explain to his followers why he had seemingly renounced the use of force after he had repeatedly told them that the time was near for invasion of the mainland.

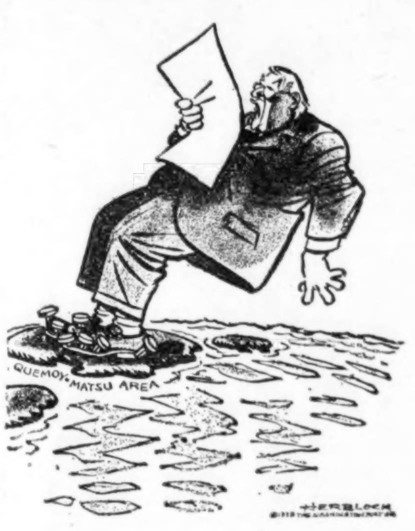
THE THORN: The communique concealed more than it disclosed. The acceptance of Taiwan as one part of a divided China continued the civil war and forecast future conflict. The N.Y. **Times** noted that, even if Chiang later reduced his forces on Quemoy, many thousands would remain there with augmented fire power promised by the U.S., and the offshore islands would continue to be "a thorn in the side of peace." It said:

"So long as [Chiang troops] are there the involvement of the U.S. in a Chinese war at the wrong time and the wrong place and for the wrong reasons remains possible. The communique does not disentangle us from that predicament."

Ignoring "the manifest power of the U.S." Peking's Defense Minister Marshal Peng Teh-huai on Oct. 25 ordered the Chinese forces on the Fukien coast not to shell the airfield on Quemoy and the wharf, beach and ships at Liaolo Bay on the east side of Big Quemoy on even-numbered dates. He said that the order was given "so that our compatriots, both military and civilian . . . may all get sufficient supplies." In a grand gesture, underscoring Peking's absolute control of the situation, Peng added: "If there is any lack of anything, just say it and we will give it to you."

PENG HOPES: In carefully chosen words, Peng also told Chiang's followers that they had "suffered a little loss" through Dulles' visit, and that they should consider breaking away from U.S. tutelage. He said he realized it would be "unrealistic" to expect them to break with the Americans right away, and added:

"We only hope you will not yield to American pressure, . . . lose your sovereign rights, and so finally be deprived of a shelter in the world and thrown into the sea. These words of ours are well-intentioned and bear no ill will. You will come to understand them by and by."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Now, does everybody understand our position?"

Analyzing Peking's tactic of turning the artillery on and off, GUARDIAN correspondent Anna Louise Strong cabled from Peking: "Peking considers Peng's every word sincere. Peng deliberately built up their entrenchment to gain political pressure within Taiwan. He is evidently unwilling to accept a compromise victory, and believes pressures within Taiwan may eventually dislodge America."

CRISIS REMAINS: Dulles' trip to Taiwan solved none of the basic issues. By appearing to renounce force, Chiang made no concession; for he has been depending not on his troops but on U.S. forces to recover the mainland. By leaving the status of the islands unclear, he left the door open for U.S. involvement in a war with Peking. Peking, however, shifted more and more to a political offensive to unite China, underlining the fact that the basic issue was more political than military.

Dulles' report on other U.S. allies in Asia was even more inaccurate than his Taiwan optimism. Washington's policy of heartening its friends by "the manifest power of the U.S." was coming a cropper in the Far and the Middle East.

In Washington's SEATO partner Thailand, Army commander Marshal Sarit Thanarat last week overthrew the government, dissolved the National Assembly, renounced the constitution, banned all political parties, took over dictatorial power in the name of fighting "communist subversion." The Assembly had refused to rubber stamp the Army's demands.

FOILED AGAIN: In the Middle East, U.S. forces last week left Lebanon, with their mission unfulfilled. They had neither halted the Iraqi revolution—for which they were primarily sent—nor maintained pro-Western Premier Chamoun in power. The new Lebanese government took a neutral position, as Chamoun forces and their opponents still jockeyed for position.

In Jordan, as British forces began their gradual withdrawal, the **Times** said "King Hussein may be weaker than he would have been if he had never had to rely on British bayonets." But it was in Egypt that the U.S. suffered the most spectacular defeat last week.

The target of U.S.-British display of "manifest power" has been the United Arab Republic's President Nasser. Washington has been preening itself on at least having prevented the merger of Jordan, Iraq and Lebanon with the UAR. This together with Tunisian President Habib Bourguiba's recent break with the UAR and his open support of the West, was supposed to have irrevocably damaged Nasser's prestige.

Last week, however, Nasser announced that Moscow had agreed to help finance the Aswan Dam, which the U.S. once promised but later reneged. Moscow's aid has raised Nasser's prestige higher than ever throughout the Middle East, even among those who have been most pro-Western.

Contrary to Dulles' report, events all over Asia seemed to demonstrate the fallacy of trying to solve political and economic problems by displaying "the manifest power of the U.S."

Powell-Schuman plea rejected

THE U.S. Supreme Court on Oct. 13 rejected the petition of the Powell-Schuman case defendants to dismiss the case or to grant an indefinite postponement. The trial is scheduled to begin in San Francisco before Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman on Jan. 19, after several postponements.

SOCIALISTS MEET NOV. 28

Cleveland session

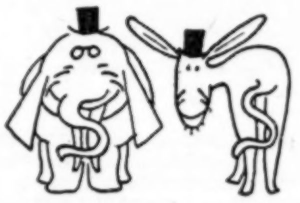
Special to the Guardian

CLEVELAND

FORTY SPONSORING individuals and groups today issued a Call for a National Conference of American Socialists to be held Nov. 28-30 at the Tudor Arms Hotel, Cleveland. The sponsors include Rev. William T. Baird, Chicago; Elmer A. Benson, Appleton, Minn.; Warren K. Billings, San Mateo, Calif.; Winifred Chelstrom, St. Paul; Melvin Dahlman, Toledo; Dr. J. W. Friedman, Seattle; Stephen Grattan, New York; Vincent Hallinan, Ross, Calif.; George Hitchcock, San Francisco; Rev. Joseph P. King, Chicago; John T. McManus and Capt. Hugh Mulzac, New York; Harvey O'Conner, Little Compton, R. I.; Dr. Holland Roberts, San Francisco; Pauline Taylor, Youngstown; William Appleman Williams, Madison, Wisc.

The conference announcement came after months of consultation and correspondence with socialists throughout the U.S. Initiating the move were two Ohioans, Eric J. Reinthaler, trade unionist and Taft-Hartley "conspiracy" case victim; and, Jerry Gordon, a former Ohio Labor Youth League leader. All socialist organizations have been invited to attend, though the conference is aimed primarily at the unaffiliated.

Host will be the Ohio Sponsoring Committee for a Socialist Conference, a group of 30 Ohioans representing virtually every tendency and including many independent socialists. At the conference all points of view will have the right of expression. Communications received emphasize a common desire among socialists for finding the road to united action. At the same time there are many differences in outlook, particularly in regard to electoral issues. Those interested in attending the conference may write to Eric J. Reinthaler, Secretary, 177 E. 316th St., Willowick, O.



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THE CASE OF MATHILDA CARMAN

New York security risk law gets court test Nov. 12

NEW YORK STATE'S Security Risk Law was passed in 1951, in view of the "great and imminent danger" of the Korean War. It enabled dismissal for security reasons of civil servants in agencies and positions to be designated as sensitive by the State Civil Service Commission.

Regularly since 1951 the law has been extended, without even a change in its reference to the Korean War, and is now on the books until June, 1959, unless extended again next year.

The law has been used to discourage efforts to improve working conditions in civil service and to stage a witchhunt even in agencies not designated as sensitive against alleged Communists named by informers testifying before Congressional, state and city investigations.

COURT TEST: The working of the N.Y. Security Risk Law comes up for review on Nov. 12 before the Appellate Division of the N.Y. State Supreme Court. The case is that of Mathilda Carman, a Dept. of Welfare case worker, convicted in November, 1957, of perjury for denying Communist affiliations in a hearing before Mayor Wagner's Investigation Commission in May, 1955. She had previously denied the same charges before the same Commission in December, 1954.

Miss Carman will be represented by attorney Harry Sacher and the firm of Donner, Kinoy & Perlin, all prominent in defense of civil liberties. Amicus curiae briefs will be presented by the N.Y. Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and possibly by the Workers' Defense League.

The briefs and the main argument of the defense contend that Miss Carman's agency and her job had not been designated as sensitive by the State Civil Service Commission under the Security Risk Law, and that the Commissioner of Investigations therefore had no right to administer an oath and question her on security matters.

CASE HISTORY: On the perjury charges, Miss Carman was sentenced to 60 days in the workhouse but was released in $100 bail pending her appeal. The appeal relies in part on a decision in May, 1957, of the Civil Service Commission itself, reinstating a Dept. of Hospitals stenographer, Miriam Reif, who had been dismissed for alleged security reasons. The Commission ruled that Miss Reif was improperly questioned under the Security Risk Law since her job was not designated as sensitive. (The Dept. of Hospitals is still seeking a review of the Commission's action.)

Victory for Miss Carman on the administrative procedures leading up to her perjury indictment can have a far-reaching effect on the working of the Security Risk Law, now and if the legislature again extends it; and may enable the reopening of many cases in which civil servants have been improperly questioned, resulting in loss of jobs.

For Miss Carman, herself, however, there is also a long fight ahead for her pension rights, which depend on reinstatement in the job she had held for 23 years until dismissed from it in May, 1956. If reinstated, she might have to engage in a new fight under a law signed by Governor Harriman this year barring Communists from public jobs.

FOUR INFORMERS: The charges against Miss Carman were made by four informers called by the city Investigation Commission to refute her denial of Communist affiliations in December, 1954, and again in May, 1955.

All four testified to knowing Miss Carman as a Communist nearly 20 years earlier, in the period 1934-36. One, a woman supervisor in the Dept. of Welfare, said Miss Carman had recruited her into the CP, but could not remember her address at the time, or whether meetings were held at her home or Miss Carman's. Two former Welfare employes who could not identify each other, and one of whom Miss Carman does not remember as a co-worker, also testified to being Communists with her in 1934-36; and a man Miss Carman never saw before, now a special policeman in the Welfare Dept., said he saw her at "fraction" meetings in two large public places and at a dance to raise funds for Communist causes. The witness conceded that the dance had been advertised in all Welfare Dept. centers as a District Union Dance.

At the time of the alleged Communist affiliations, Miss Carman had been chairman of a committee in behalf of workers in a mass dismissal from the Department in 1935. The committee won reinstatement for many of the people, one of whom was dismissed because she didn't wear a girdle.

REPRISAL: Following her experiences at the hands of the City Investigating Committee in 1954-55, Miss Carman became ill, spent considerable time in a hospital, and on returning to her job, applied for disability retirement in July, 1955.

At the end of a 90-day waiting period for a decision on her retirement application, she was suspended as a "security risk." Eight months later she was dismissed.

A year after her dismissal, while her attorney was pressing for a bill of particulars in order to fight the case before the Civil Service Commission, two New York City detectives forced their way into her home early one morning in May, 1957, and arrested her on the perjury charges.

Deprived of her pension, toward which she contributed 7½% of her salary for 23 years, and unable to get permanent employment while under what the Supreme Court has called a "badge of infamy" due to the perjury charges, Miss Carman is desperately in need of funds to fight her case in civil as well as the current criminal proceedings.

Help may be sent directly to her, at 647 Second Av., New York 16, N.Y.

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the SPECTATOR

March on Washington

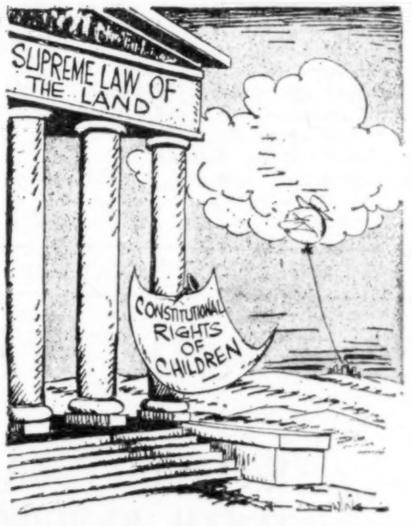
THE PRESIDENT HAD SPENT THE MORNING improving his golf at Burning Tree. But he had returned from the Maryland club and was in the White House when the young people approached the main gate. They had no appointment; letters asking for one had gone unanswered. But maybe the President would see them. After all, it was ten days before the election. A smart politician could hardly afford to ignore 12,000 young people who had come to Washington to have their say on school integration, the hottest domestic issue of the day.

But ignore them the President did. The delegation of ten Negro and white youth, accompanied by singer Harry Belafonte, asked to see White House aide Rocco Siciliano or one of Mr. Eisenhower's secretaries. Nothing doing. The best the guard at the gate could do was to accept their petition and transmit it to presidential press secretary James Hagerty.

The delegation left to join their fellow marchers who by now had massed at the Lincoln Memorial. They had marched for an hour- and-a-half along the broad expanse of Constitution Avenue and they were quite a sight to see. They were the young generation, neither silent nor beat, but the vocal and determined hope of a democratic future for this divided land.

THEY WERE ALL CREEDS AND KINDS, in large and small groups. New York State, County and Municipal Employees Union, AFL-CIO, had sent 11 buses with about 500 civil servants and their children. The Cooks, Pastry Cooks and Assistants Union people carried their banner proudly. From the little town of Fallsington (near Scranton), Pa., 14 youngsters came to represent the William Penn Quaker Center. Habonim, Labor Zionist Youth organization, carried a placard: "Defend the Constitution Against Dynamite."

One girl, a paraplegic, "marched" in a wheel chair. Young mothers kept pace with babes in arms. One moment the Youth Guard of the 369th National Guard Regiment passed by, cutting the military capers of would-be soldiers; the next, a band of pacifists.



Downing in N. Y. Herald Tribune

Stage all set for the final showdown.

There they stood, for all their obvious differences, united by the issue which made them all essentially the same. Probably nothing else could have brought them together like this.

They crowded the grounds and the steps and looked up toward the marble hall where Abraham Lincoln's statue sat bathed in light. Behind them, past the lagoon, the Washington Monument rose toward the sky; beyond it, the Capitol.

THEY LISTENED INTENTLY as their leaders spoke. Harlon Jove, a white youth from Orangeburg, S.C., now a graduate student at New York's New School for Social Research, reported for the delegation and expressed their "bitter disappointment" at the snub the President had administered. The crowd cheered when he said they would return "again and again" in an effort to see the President. The cheers were louder and longer when Belafonte remarked that the President's behavior would have "far-reaching effects" among "millions of people all over Europe, Asia and Africa."

They stood silently and seemed bewildered, however, when chairman A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice-president, tried to soften their resentment against the President and turn it into anti-Communist channels. He said they did not intend to "embarrass" the President; they had come "not to weaken but to strengthen" his hand. Many youths stirred uneasily and one was heard to say: "I didn't get up at five o'clock to come down here to apologize."

Then Randolph reached far afield and began talking like a latter-day McCarthyite. He felt it necessary to "completely reject and unconditionally condemn Communists and communism." One would have thought the Communists were keeping Negro children out of schools and bombing synagogues.

THE YOUTH HAD SOMETHING to cheer about again when they endorsed a pledge which recognized that "equal rights for all is the central moral issue of our time," and committed them to work for that goal. They shouted approval of a resolution to win the support of a million young people for their pledge and agreed to return to Washington on May 17, 1959, fifth anniversary of the Supreme Court integration decision.

One saw in Washington all the makings of a new and vital American youth movement. To older people who feel the time is over-ripe, the new generation seemed to be saying they agreed. But it would have a hard time getting off the ground if some case-hardened adults tried to use it to foil Moscow with one hand and to free the Negroes with the other. On the one score there is no basis for young people's unity; on the latter there is plenty.

—Louis E. Burnham

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WHAT EVER HAPPENED TO GEORGE SELDES?

The question is asked frequently. We thought therefore that readers of National Guardian might be interested in the following editorial coomment which appeared recently in "The Independent":

Most readers of *The Independent* need no introduction to George Seldes. His semi-retirement from the crusading scene has been one of American journalism's major losses.

Recently in the meeting room of the Newspaper Guild, an old-timer was discussing with regret Seldes' absence from the scene. "He tried very hard to improve the standards of daily newspapers," the veteran newsman said. "He didn't succeed, but he never stopped trying to make a lady of the whore."

And although this has little to do with the project at hand, we know that George Seldes reads *The Independent* and that he will be interested in knowing that he is still missed on the newspaper scene.

The Project At Hand . . .

Some twenty-four years ago, Seldes was completing a manuscript which dealt with freedom of the press. He wanted to embellish each chapter with an appropriate quotation on liberty in general and journalism in particular.

Milton's *Areopagetica* and John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* were conventional but indispensable.

Could he trust his memory for the correct wording or punctuation of "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties?" Obviously not.

He turned to Bartlett's Quotations. And then a whole new world opened. There was no mention of John Stuart Mill, and the *Areopagetica* quotation by Milton was also missing.

Wrote Seldes later: "It was difficult at first to accept a suspicion of censorship or favoritism or undue 'editing' of the great quotations.

"There was certainly plenty of poetry by Milton. And the other major poets including Shelley and Byron and Lowell and even Browning and Tennyson and Coleridge and Wordsworth. But these men were not ivory tower dwellers—they were men concerned with their times, concerned with life and liberty and the freedom of the individual and of the world. There was no mention whatever of their concern in Bartlett."

Missing was all mention of Tom Paine.

Missing too was Lincoln's "This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it."

It became apparent on further careful study that Bartlett was peculiarly lacking on the subjects of liberty, freedom, democracy, nonconformity, and the rights and dignity of man.

This was the beginning of Seldes' own research in quotations.

As he compiled his own collection, Seldes contacted people still living to verify the quotations attributed to them.

Einstein, for instance, killed as untrue, the statement widely attributed to him as his definition of the theory of relativity: "There is no hitching post in the universe."

Seldes hunted down the facts regarding classical quotes. For instance, he found the true source of the quote often wrongly attributed to George Washington that "The Government of the United States is not in any sense founded upon the Christian religion."

—And after twenty years . . .

—George Seldes had accumulated a tremendous collection of the great quotations on liberty and democracy. He had enough of them to fill a 1,600 page anthology—and not one of the quotations is in Bartlett!

Commercial publishers, faced with high costs and low profits, considered the book, praised the book, and returned it with regrets. Foundations examined it, were most enthusiastic about it, but explained that to publish a book containing great ideas which are considered controversial might endanger their tax-free status!

It became apparent that no commercial publisher would be found.

It would be nice to report that we decided to publish the book. The only thing lacking in this happy ending is the nearly $20,000 needed to launch it.

The manuscript dedicated to "the illimitable freedom of the human mind" seemed destined for dust in the drawer.

Enter Irving Caesar . . .

Irving Caesar is a creative and dynamic individual who doesn't like to take "no" for an answer. He knew about the Seldes book and believed as your editor does, that it should be in print, and that it is important that it be in print and in libraries where scholars could draw upon the great liberal thoughts of the great men.

Caesar is a life-long pacifist who was schooled at a Quaker Institute and who served under Louis Lochner on the Ford Peace Ship.

His fame, of course, has come to him as a composer and author of songs. These include *Tea For Two* (the most widely played song in the world today), *Just a Gigolo, Swannee, I Want To Be Happy,* and the *Sing A Song of Friendship and Sing a Song of Safety series.*

This month, determination overcame "good business sense" and Caesar-Stuart was formed to publish the Seldes book.

In order to successfully publish "The Great Quotations" (which will be a volume of between 1,000 and 1,200 pages and will retail for $15), a campaign is being started to secure one hundred patrons for the book.

These one hundred will be asked to provide $100 each for which they will receive ten copies of the book. One copy will be personally autographed by Seldes—and will in effect be a part of a limited edition since Seldes has agreed not to autograph any copies beyond these one hundred. The other nine copies would make welcome gifts for schools, libraries, professional people and scholars.

There are among *The Independent's* readers many persons (labor leaders, corporation executives, etc.), who could, if they would, provide $100 for this project. We believe that placing a book like this in thousands of hands is a serious and important undertaking whose effect will be felt for years and years to come.

If you are one of those who wish to participate, make your check payable to Caesar-Stuart and send it either to

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

ROCKWELL KENT speaks at Silver Jubilee of American-Soviet Friendship. Also: Mandel Terman speaks from Moscow; speaker from Soviet Embassy; entertainment; refreshments. Sat., Nov. 15, 8:15 p.m. Hall C-1, 32 W. Randolph. 90c. Ausp: CCASF.

SAVE THE DATE!
WED., NOV. 19, 8 P.M.
GENERAL VICTOR A. YAKHONTOFF
noted author and lecturer
will speak on
"CRISIS IN ASIA"
1627 W. Sherwin Av.
— Refreshments —
Ausp: Friends of the Guardian.

THE ONE & ONLY MANDEL TERMAN reports on his trip to the USSR. Color slides and tape recordings. Hall C-2, 32 W. Randolph. Fri., Dec. 5, 8:15 p.m. 90c. Auspices: CCASF.

CLEVELAND

"THREE VIEWS OF THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS" Speakers: **ERNEST MAZEY,** Detroit Branch American Civil Liberties Union, reports on The Michigan Election Results, Labor's Role in Michigan Elections, Carl Stellato Congressional Campaign; **SAM POLLOCK,** Pres. Local 427, Amalgamated Meat Cutters & Butcher Workmen, reports on Ohio Anti-"Right To Work" Campaign, Ohio Labor's Political Future; **STEVE GRATTAN,** Exec. Dir., American Forum for Socialist Education, speaks on New York's Independent-Socialist Campaign, The New York State Election Results, What Course for Labor's Independent Political Action. **DR. OLIVER S. LOUD,** Moderator, noted lecturer, Dept. of Physics, Antioch College. Audience participation. **Sun., Nov. 9, 3 p.m.** Unitarian Society of Cleveland, 8143 Euclid Av. Ausp: Cleveland Forum for Political Education. — Admission Free.

LOS ANGELES

Make reservation now for 8th **ANNUAL TESTIMONIAL DINNER** honoring the legal panel. Sun., Nov. 23, 5 p.m., at Park Manor, 607 So. Western Av. Guest of honor, Attorney **Joseph Forer** from Wash., D.C. Talented artists. Admission $15. Auspices: Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 326 W. 3 St., MA 5-2169.

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DOUBLE ANNIVERSARY BANQUET: "Anniversary of Russian Revolution and 30 Years of the MILITANT" **Speakers: James P. Cannon,** National Chairman, S.W.P.; **Arne Swabeck,** well-known writer for INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW and veteran of the labor movement. Sat., Nov. 15, 7 p.m. Forum Hall, 1702 E. 4 St. For reservations phone **AN 9-4953** or **NO 3-0387.** **Cont. $1.75.**

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SAVE THE DATE
Friday, Nov. 21, 8 p.m.
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Tickets: American-Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St., UN 1-3813.

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Nov. 17: Authority & Responsibility
Nov. 24: Tudor "absolutism by consent"
Dec. 1: Free Trade & Human Equality
Dec. 8: Dictatorship & Treason

TUESDAYS
FIVE GENERATIONS OF YOUTH IN REVOLT
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Nov. 18: Bohemian Rebellion in Chicago & Greenwich Village before 1914
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ELECTION MEETING
DR. CORLISS LAMONT
on National & International Issues
Mon., Nov. 3, 8:30 p.m., Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av., Brooklyn.

FRED HALSTEAD, labor reporter for THE MILITANT, speaks on "Balance Sheet of 1958 Auto Agreements" Sun., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. Sponsor: Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Pl. Cont. 50c.

Sunday, November 2, 8:15 p.m.
The Sunday Forum Presents
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THE FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE offers a new Program for Youth on six Friday evenings 6:45 or 8:15 p.m., Nov. 7, 14, 21 & Dec. 5, 12, 19
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1957-8 EYEWITNESS REPORT, SCOTT NEARING'S New illustrated Pamphlet, 3 for $1, 10 for $3.50, 50c. each. American Russian Institute, 90 McAllister St., San Francisco 2, Calif.

JEWISH BOOK MONTH ISSUE of JEWISH CURRENTS just out. Contains articles, poems, reviews by and about Sholem Aleichem, Israel Zangwill, Leon Feuchtwanger, Ben Field, Eve Merriam, A.B. Magil, Morris U. Schappes. Single copy 35c, trial sub, 4 issues, $1; annual sub $3 USA, $3.50 elsewhere. — Jewish Currents, Dept. G, 22 E. 17 St., New York 3, N.Y.

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THE GALLERY

THERE IS A STORY circulating in Washington about the social life of career army officers and their wives "several seasons back." Life was rather dull in those days, it seems, and most social activities centered around house parties. There was one captain and his wife who were sure to be invited to all affairs because he was so much fun. His favorite party stunt was to "stand in the center of the living room floor, freeze into muscular rigidity, then slam like a fallen tree to the floor. A split second before hitting the rug, however, his hands would flash out suddenly to break his fall." This zingy act was often encored four and five times an evening.

Sometimes, according to the story, "his hands were not quick enough and he would knock himself woozy. The celebrants would haul him into a chair, bathe his face and then stand back in admiration for his derring-do."

What was the captain's name? Dwight D Eisenhower.

AT THE STATE THEATER
Eugene Miles (l.) and Mitzi Hoag in "Heloise," the retelling of the legendary love story of Heloise and Abelard, now playing at the Gate, 162 Second Av. The critics were tremendously impressed by James Forsyth's off-Broadway play.

JAMES NAUGHTON testified before a Congressional committee investigating windfall profits last month that the Borden Co. sold the Commodity Credit Corp. a substantial quantity of dried milk at 16c a pound under the dairy price support program; bought it back for 9.37c a pound; then re-sold it to the Army for 30.9 cents a pound. Nice work if you can get it—and apparently you can get it if you know the right people . . . . Pundit David Lawrence believes: "The Republican Party could win the election if all who voted Republican only two years ago voted that way again." Can't say his crystal ball is clouded. . . . Mike Todd Jr. is producing his first film, **Scent of Danger,** in Spain in a new process called "Smell-O-Vision," which synchronized smells with the action of the screen. He says it was developed in Switzerland, but everyone knows Hollywood has produced stinkers for years.

BEFORE THE BRUSSELS FAIR closed last week the Czechoslovak pavilion was awarded grand prize for excellence; the Belgian exhibit was second and the British, third . . . S. Korean censors decreed that kisses in movies may not last longer than ten seconds. Koreans were said to believe this was no way to treat a Seoul kiss . . . N.Y. **Post's** Leonard Lyons reports: "Secy. of the Army Brucker, in accepting a decoration from Spain last week, said: 'After all, Spain has been like the Rock of Gibraltar in the fight against communism.' The Spanish Ambassador winced at this touchy reminder that Gibraltar doesn't belong to Spain." . . . The Marquess and Marchioness of Hertford initiated a new fad in the blueblood set. They recruited their new butler from a London rock 'n roll club. He is 17-year-old Howard Davis who roams Ragley Hall, the Marquess' country home, in blue jeans and rubber soled shoes, singing "Rock Around The Clock."

THE UNITED STATES was having a rough time at the Mexico City International Film Festival last month. At the theater where the prize-winning films of nine countries were shown, the U.S. flag was greeted with boos, catcalls and whistling, while the Soviet hammer and sickle was cheered at the opening ceremonies. The next night squads of riot police were called out to quiet the audience when two U.S. films were shown. But on the third night the U.S. recouped. Ambassador Robert C. Hill screened **The Defiant Ones,** a movie advocating racial equality, (GUARDIAN, Spectator, Oct. 13) and the audience of 8,000 cheered and applauded throughout . . . Pietro di Donato, author of **Christ in Concrete,** will have his first novel in 20 years published on Nov. 24 by Ballantine Books. It is called **This Woman.** . . . United Airlines is placing a copy of J. Edgar Hoover's book, **Masters of Deceit,** on each of its 300 planes. Officials of American Airlines are considering doing the same . . . Vito Battista, chairman of the United Tax Payers party in New York, appealed to "Wall Street executives" to join his party. "We've got a lot of members," he said, "but we need some more brains."

—Robert E. Light

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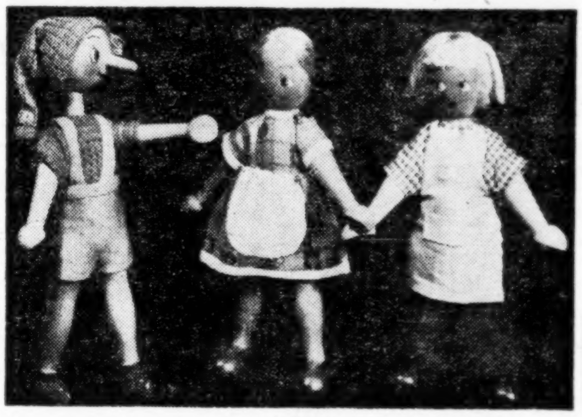

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